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Virginia Life

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JAY B. HUBBELL



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in
Fiction



By

JAY BROADUS HUBBELL, PH. D.

*Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Re-
quirements for the Degree of Doctor
of Philosophy, in the Faculty
of Philosophy, Columbia
University*

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Virginia Life
in
Fiction



By
JAY BROADUS HUBBELL, PH. D.

*E. A. Lilly Professor of English in
Southern Methodist University*

TO THE
ABBOT OF

THE ABBOT

OF

TO

Judge William I. I. Smith

Univ. of
California

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THIS MONOGRAPH has been approved by the
Department of English and Comparative Lit-
erature in Columbia University as a contribution
to knowledge worthy of publication.

A. H. THORNDIKE
Executive Officer

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PREFACE

When I began this study seven years ago, I hoped to do for my native state, if possible, what Mr. H. S. Krans has so delightfully done for Ireland in his *Irish Life in Irish Fiction*. I did not foresee that the different nature of my materials would force me to write a very different kind of book. In particular, I failed to see that I should be compelled to devote so much space to historical legends, which are so intimately connected with Virginia fiction that they could not be ignored. I hope no one will think that my comments upon the makers of these legends are malicious. I have come to the conclusion that far too little attention has been paid to the very close connection between American fiction and American social history. In a study of the other backgrounds of American fiction, on which I am now working, I hope to do for other sections what I have done for Virginia.

This dissertation was completed over two years ago, and it would have been printed in full and at a much earlier date but for a rascal of a publisher into whose hands I was so unlucky as to fall. For this abstract I have rewritten and expanded my introductory chapter so that it now contains the more important conclusions of a three-hundred-page manuscript. The five other chapters are very briefly epitomized, but the bibliography is printed entire.

I wish to express my appreciation of the courtesy of Dr. H. R. McIlwaine of the Virginia State Library and of the officials of the New York Public Library and of the libraries of Columbia University and the New York Society. I am deeply indebted to my colleague, Professor John Owen Beaty, for the privilege of reading his forthcoming *John Esten Cooke: Virginian* and for other information concerning Cooke's life and work. I wish also to express my appreciation of the helpful advice given me by Professors W.

P. Trent, A. H. Thorndike, and John Erskine, and, above all, by Dr. Carl Van Doren, literary editor of the *Nation*, who suggested the subject to me and directed my investigation and assisted me in every way possible. Last of all, I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to my wife for criticism and assistance of almost every other kind without which this study might never have been completed.

JAY B. HUBBELL

SOUTHERN METHODIST UNIVERSITY

Dallas, Texas

May, 1922

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

As indicated by the title, this book is a study of Virginia as a background in fiction. Its chief purpose is to show how Virginia settings have been handled by various writers of fiction. These settings vary widely in time and in locality; for the history of Virginia has been long and eventful, and racial and geographical influences have never permitted the social life of the state to become uniform. There is also great diversity in the writers who have been attracted to Virginia backgrounds. The authors are not limited to those born in the state, or even in America; and they represent a considerable variety of literary aims.

This volume is necessarily also to some extent a history of Virginia social life; for, as Woodberry has said, "Any discussion of Virginia matters finally turns to a description of the social life, which was the pride of the State and its chief pleasure." The chronological method which has been employed should give the reader a fairly accurate account of Virginia's development from an aristocratic colony into a democratic commonwealth. The historical picture, it need hardly be said, differs markedly from that usually found in fiction. Apart from some of the earlier novelists, the best accounts of Virginia life are to be found in the writings of Northern and European travelers.

In the way of local color and historical picturesqueness no state in the Union has more to offer the novelist than Virginia. Even when stripped of its legendary accretions, there is much in the history of the state which appeals to the imagination of the writer of fiction. Virginia has the lost causes and the vanished social order which are so dear to historical romance. The social life of the old régime still possesses, even when accurately portrayed, as it seldom is, a picturesqueness and a charm which are all the more at-

tractive perhaps because that life now seems so un-American. Until after the Civil War, life in Virginia was in many respects semi-feudal; for economic conditions there had perpetuated and strengthened the surviving feudal characteristics of seventeenth century England. Thus Virginia developed a sort of chivalric régime of her own, which the popular imagination, working through historians and writers of fiction, has made the most romantic background in America.

In American historical romance ante-bellum Virginia plays somewhat the same part that the age of chivalry plays in British poetry and fiction. Virginia life was full of sharp contrasts, such as Scott loved, which lend themselves better to the novelist's hand than the external uniformity of modern American life. The influence of Scott, in fact, is almost everywhere present in Virginia fiction. Most of Scott's character types are easily paralleled in Virginia life. The aristocratic planter replaces the English baron and the Scottish laird; the indentured servant and the negro slave take the place of the vassal and the serf; and the Indian and the mountaineer sometimes assume the rôle of the outlaw of the Scottish Highlands. It was Scott, too, who taught the American novelists to see the value of such contrasting types as the Puritan and the Cavalier, the poor white and the planter, the democratic mountaineer and the Tidewater aristocrat. In fact, Colonial Virginia is essentially a part of the background of British historical romance. It is easy to connect Virginia with Elizabeth, Shakespeare, Raleigh, Drake, the Stuarts, and the Cavaliers. Virginia history abounds in events which were picturesque even before they were retouched by the romantic hand of tradition. That history is full of wars, and nothing so captivates the romantic imagination as "the pomp and circumstance of glorious war." There are numerous Indian wars supplying material as rich as that which Cooper found in upper New York. There is the Revolution, which came to its spectacular close under a Virginian general and upon

Virginian soil. And, richest field of all, there is the Civil War, the most decisive battles of which were likewise fought upon Virginian territory and under Virginian generals. Finally, in the period following the war, novelists have found abundant materials in the rise of the poor white, the fortunes of the free negro, and, above all, in the pathetic situation of the ruined aristocrat struggling bravely to preserve his traditions and make his way in an alien civilization.

The rich literary backgrounds of Virginia life and history come to almost every novelist already obscured by tradition and legend. As clearly as possible, we shall endeavor to trace the development of that romantic glamor of legend and tradition which has obscured the history of the state and influenced the whole course of Virginia fiction.

"In all current literature there is nothing more remarkable than the way in which writers have unconsciously conspired to over-idealise Virginia," says Arthur Granville Bradley, a shrewd English student of Virginia life, whose writings have been persistently neglected by native historians. Although the Indian, the Puritan, the frontier scout, the California miner, and the Texas cowboy have each a rôle in fiction and in popular tradition which bears little resemblance to historic reality, the old Virginia gentleman is more of a legendary figure than any one of these. The idealization of Virginia comes to far more than the glorifying touch of an old soldier's memory or the natural tendency of the romancer to cast a glamor over his scenes and characters. The Virginia tradition rests upon a mass of legends piled one upon the other like the cities which Schliemann unearthed at Troy. This tradition ignores the greater part of the white population and even important geographical divisions of the state. It tells of a half-fictitious Golden Age "befo de wah," of a colonial age of well-nigh mythical Cavaliers, and of a Revolution that never happened.

In making a chivalric lord of the Virginia tobacco planter, legend has obscured the greatest charm of the old Virginia

life, its homespun simplicity. The planter was a cultivated and leisurely farmer, but he was no baron; he was not even an English country gentleman. His estate of two or three thousand acres was no principality, and his rambling wooden house was no baronial mansion. His luxury consisted in the numerous ragged and inefficient servants who attended him and in the abundance of home-grown provisions—watermelons, apple cider, mint juleps, country ham, roasting ears, and “snaps.” His thriftless agricultural methods kept him almost invariably in debt. He was too poor and too remote from towns to lead the wild and hilarious life which the Abolitionist ascribed to him. His life, in short, was a simple and monotonous one, varied chiefly by the presence of guests and the changes which the seasons bring upon the farm.

The strangest aspect of the Virginia legend is the fact that, in fiction and popular tradition, North as well as South, the small planter class has overshadowed every other class except the poor whites and the slaves. Of the vastly more numerous middle-class farmers we hear nothing except in recent histories. In the Virginia tradition there are no second families—except those that emigrated to North Carolina. The unromantic census reports, however, remind us that in 1860 there were in the entire state only 114 persons who owned as many as 100 slaves, and this out of a white population of over 1,000,000. There were, of course, some poor and even landless gentlemen, but probably not many. If all who claim descent from wealthy old Virginian families are to be believed, these 114 families were the most prolific on record.

The Virginia of legend and fiction lies east of the Blue Ridge; the rôle of Western Virginia is negligible. Yet life in western Virginia was not less picturesque. Virginia mountaineers are of the same stock that Charles Egbert Craddock and John Fox discovered in Tennessee and Kentucky. The explanation of this neglect is that ever since the time of Bacon's Rebellion in 1676 there has been con-

stant friction between east and west. Lowlander and highlander, or Tuckahoe and Cohee, as they used to be called, had little in common. The Cohee, of Scotch-Irish or German descent, was a small farmer who owned no slaves and hated the high-handed slave-holder of the lowlands. He was, as Professor F. J. Turner first pointed out, essentially a Westerner with the traditional hostility of the frontiersman to the East. The western element has played a small part in the Virginia tradition because it was the lowland planter who perpetuated the traditions and wrote the histories of the Old Dominion.

Yet it was the western element, which Virginia tradition ignores, that brought on the Revolution. Patrick Henry was the spokesman of this frontier democracy. The planters fought loyally though unwillingly when the frontiersmen forced them into the war; but the aristocracy furnished only the lesser Virginia statesmen, the Lees, the Randolphs, Bland, Wythe, and Mason. The great leaders without exception are to be classed with the west. Neither Washington, Henry, Madison, nor Marshall belonged to the great planter families; and Jefferson, though related to the Randolphs, lived on the frontier and, like Jackson and Lincoln, learned his first lessons in democracy there. Yet the planters, who did not want to fight, succeeded in imposing upon the world for a century the myth that they were responsible for the stand which Virginia took. Never did legend more completely reverse historic fact. The reason is not difficult to guess. The western party not only forced Virginia into the war; it wrought a social revolution in the life of the state by disestablishing the Anglican Church and abolishing the laws of primogeniture and entail which had kept intact the great planter estates. This party, under the leadership of Henry and Jefferson, became the nucleus of the national Democratic Party, which even today is not adored by men of wealth and position.

If we are to understand how stratum upon stratum of legend has been gradually formed till it obscures the earlier

history of Virginia, it is necessary to digress for a moment to note what was till a few years ago an almost universal Southern trait. The Virginian, even more than other Southerners, was a deteriorationist. He believed in the inevitable superiority of the former times. This typically Virginian view was well expressed by George W. Bagby in his lecture, *The Old Virginia Gentleman*. "I can but think," said he, "that, since the Colonial and Revolutionary days, each generation has shown a slight falling away from those grand models of men and women who really existed in Virginia, but whom we have come to look upon almost as myths." Even at this late day, the older Virginian farmers will tell you that since the war everything has deteriorated—crops, farmhands, climate, manners, morals—everything. One farmer whom I know insists in all seriousness that the sap in the sugar-maple is not so sweet as it was before the war. Mark Twain tells the story of an old negro woman who, in reply to a New Yorker's praise of the beautiful Southern moon, said, "Ah, bless yo' heart, honey, you jes' ought to seen dat moon befo' de waw!"

It was in the years following the Revolution that the Virginian became the backward-looking glorifier of the past. In those years Virginia sank rapidly in population and importance from first to fifth among the states. The large estates had been split up by Jefferson's laws; and many of the planters, completely ruined, migrated to other states, carrying their proud traditions with them. The divided estates fell into the hands of small farmers and overseers. The few planters who remained behind, poor and despairing, could not help contrasting their present hard lot with that of their wealthy fathers. "In whose hands now," said Henry Clay in 1833, "are the once proud seats of Westover, Cerles, Maycocks, Shirly, and others on the James and in lower Virginia? They have passed into other and stranger hands. Some of the descendants of illustrious parentage have gone to the far West, while others, lingering behind have contrasted their present condition with that of their venerated

ancestors. They behold themselves excluded from their fathers' houses, now in the hands of those who were once their fathers' overseers, or sinking into decay." Times were hard; the price of tobacco was low; and the slaves were too numerous to be profitable—if, indeed, they had ever been. John Randolph prophesied that eventually the masters would run away from their slaves to keep from having to feed and clothe them. The rich lands of the Tidewater had been worn out by two centuries of wasteful cultivation, against which Washington had protested in vain. What wonder if in their distress the ruined aristocrats idealized the years of their prosperity and power!

In the thirties the South experienced a profound social and political change which has seldom been noticed. While the North and the West were in many ways growing more democratic, Virginia turned her back squarely upon her Revolutionary leaders and began to build up an aristocratic social order remarkably like that which Jefferson had overthrown. Although universally supposed to be a continuation of the colonial aristocracy, the new gentry was, as a whole, nothing of the kind. It was made up in the main of small farmers and overseers who had bought up the old estates.

The underlying economic cause of this social change in Virginia was that slavery, which for half a century had been a moribund institution, without apologists, had once more become profitable. Cotton was now enthroned in the lower South, and the high prices paid in the Gulf states made Virginia's surplus slaves a means of restoring to the Old Dominion a portion of her colonial prosperity. At the same time the rise of the Northern Abolitionists and the Southampton Insurrection, popularly attributed to their agency, made it impossible for the eastern Virginian to oppose slavery. Virginia's new political leaders followed Calhoun, who was building up a social and political philosophy with slavery as its corner-stone. In fact, two Virginians, Dew and Fitzhugh, were among the ablest exponents of this undemocratic philosophy. Reaction, we may add, was also

the fashion in Europe; men were losing faith in democracy. In Virginia many of the small farmers who had precipitated the state into the Revolution were now compelled either to leave the state or to accept a social station subordinate to that of the new planter aristocracy.

X It is significant that the phrase "Southern chivalry" first appeared about 1835. Like the newly rich everywhere, the new aristocracy wanted ancestors. It was inevitable that they should claim to be a continuation of the almost extinct colonial gentry. In glorifying their imaginary ancestors, the new aristocrats created a picture of Colonial and Revolutionary Virginia which is largely legendary. Caruthers and Cooke, who pictured the earlier epochs in their melodramatic romances, gave the first families credit for what the frontiersmen had done. The new aristocracy forgot the plebeian followers of Henry and Jefferson; and though they condemned Jefferson's democracy as "glittering fallacies," they even claimed Jefferson himself as one of their own number.

The extraordinary development of the Cavalier myth is significant of the change which came over the South in the thirties. In the histories of Virginia the estimates of the number of Cavaliers who settled in Virginia steadily increase while the number of indentured servants as steadily declines. Caruthers's romance, *The Cavaliers of Virginia*, added wings to the legend. The fact that the term Cavalier had indicated only a political and not a social class was rapidly forgotten. All Cavaliers were now supposed to have been gentlemen. In the final stage all Virginians and all other Southerners became descendants of the British nobility! In 1860 Robert Toombs, of Georgia, made his famous boast, "We [of the South] are a race of gentlemen." The enormous spread of the Cavalier myth, in fact, seems in large part responsible for English and French sympathy with the cause of the Confederacy.

It was not the Southerner alone, however, who made a lord of the Virginia planter. Stoutly as the Abolitionists

denied the social superiority of the Virginian's origin, they too made a lord of the slave-owner. Hating him and slavery, they pictured him as a feudal tyrant ruling his thousands with a rod of iron. They portrayed him as cruel, proud, idle, luxurious, dissipated. They pointed to the poor whites as proof of the degrading influence of slavery upon the white man; but they said nothing of the much more numerous middle-class farmers who also held slaves. Nowadays when trained reporters are scouring the four quarters of the earth to supply an eager public with first-hand news of every event, it seems incredible that the Abolitionists, almost to a man, knew nothing of slavery from personal observation. Seldom has the world seen men more credulous of the things they wished to believe and more blind to what they did not wish to see. Apart from William Ellery Channing, practically none of the Abolitionists had ever sojourned in the South; and it was Channing who, while tutor in the Randolph family in Richmond, wrote of the Virginia people:

"I blush for my own people when I compare the selfish prudence of a Yankee with the generous confidence of a Virginian. . . . There is one single trait which attaches me to the people I live with, more than all the virtues of New England. They *love money less* than we do. They are more disinterested. Their patriotism is not tied to their purse-strings. Could I only take away from the Virginians their *sensuality* and their *slaves*, I should think them the greatest people in the world."

In a memorable comparison between Southern and Northern gentlemen, James Ford Rhodes has said:

"The Southern gentleman was to the manner born. In society and conversation he appeared to the best advantage. He had self-assurance, an easy bearing, and to women a chivalrous courtesy; he was 'stately but condescending, haughty but jovial.' Underneath all were physical courage, a habit of command, a keen sense of honor, and a generous disposition. . . . If we reckon by numbers, there were

certainly more well-bred people at the North than at the South; but when we compare the cream of society in both sections, the palm must be awarded to the slave-holding community. The testimony of English gentlemen and ladies, few of whom have any sympathy with slavery, is almost unanimous in this respect. . . . The Northern men seemed frequently overweighted with business cares, and, except on the subjects of trade, politics, and the material growth of the country, were not good talkers. The merchant or manufacturer of Boston, New York, or Philadelphia was a busy man; he had not the leisure of his Southern brother to cultivate the amenities of life, and he lacked that abandon of manners which Englishmen found so charming in the slave-holding lords. This superiority of the best Southern society undoubtedly grew out of the social system of which slavery was the basis."

To understand how the years preceding the Civil War came to be regarded as a Golden Age, Arcadian and perfect, one must note how later events have colored the Virginian's attitude toward the past. After fighting for that old régime during four desperate years as men have seldom fought for any cause, good or bad, he had seen his civilization overthrown, relegated to the past which holds the kingdoms of Caesar and Charlemagne. No wonder he loved it. But the worst had not yet come. After Appomattox he was somewhat reconciled to the loss of his slaves; but he was not prepared for Reconstruction, which seemed to him an attempt to "Yankee-ize" him in mind and soul. Reconstruction appeared to him an attempt to force him to give up not only his ancient mode of living but even his whole view of life. No wonder he resisted desperately and, unable to save anything else which belonged to the past, cherished its memory as a sacred thing.

To the bankrupt planter all seemed chaos; and, indeed, there was enough to make him despair. He knew nothing about handling free labor; and, with the Union League and the Freedman's Bureau to interfere with his plans, negro

labor was more inefficient than ever before. The planter's lands, even in Piedmont, were worn out; and he knew nothing of rotation of crops or other modern methods of restoring the soil. Almost to a man, the planters fled one by one to the cities, ruined. The old social order was gone, and the old homes stood untenanted, going to ruin and decay. What wonder if in poverty and bitterness the planter pined for the good old days before the war! Even the negroes themselves idealized the past, so that Page could with perfect appropriateness put into their mouths his idyllic pictures of life in the old régime.

The Civil War seemed to the broken planter the one great epic event in history. The great battles had been fought under Virginian generals and on Virginian soil. To the Virginian the war had been a second and more glorious struggle for independence. Reconstruction made the Lost Cause in his eyes a sacred thing. Slavery he would admit was wrong, but secession never. "The collapse of the old order," wrote Henry James after a visit to Richmond, "the humiliation of defeat, the bereavement and bankruptcy involved, represented, with its obscure miseries and tragedies, the social revolution the most unrecorded and undepicted, in proportion to its magnitude, that ever was; so that this reversion of the starved spirit to the things of the heroic age, the four epic years, is a definite soothing salve."

In the chaotic confusion of Reconstruction Virginia old social lines began to be rubbed out, and new lines of cleavage were forming. While so many of the planters were finding it impossible to adjust themselves to the new economic order, the middle-class farmers, performing their own labor, managed to hold their own and often to rise to wealth and power. In politics and in business also new men came to the front. The new men, constituting an aristocracy based on wealth, wanted ancestors, for wealth alone did not give the best of social standing. In this confused period of transition it was easy to magnify one's ancestry. Nearly all the genuine aristocrats were ruined, and many

had gone to other states. Few had now the wealth to support their claims to good birth. By 1880 few knew with any certainty who had belonged to the gentry in the pre-war days. In fact, it was then, and is now, frequently impossible to distinguish the sons of gentlemen from the sons of plebeians. Even the poor whites, imitating their social superiors, began to claim descent from fine old Virginia families ruined by the war.

Here, if an apparent digression may be permitted, we shall note the part of the Virginian emigrant in establishing the Virginia tradition in the nation at large. The two periods of decay which followed the Revolution and the Civil War led to wholesale emigration to the West, the lower South, and, in the later period, to the cities of the North. The ruined gentry migrated in larger numbers than any other class; and they carried their traditions with them, often their only asset. Naturally enough, the emigrant Virginian became more intensely Virginian than he had been at home. In proportion to his distance from the mother state, the glory of the emigrant's name increased; for F. F. V. was a badge of distinction honored all over the country. The novels of Mark Twain and Edward Eggleston, both Westerners of Virginian ancestry, abound in evidence of this fact. Not all emigrants, to be sure, were professional Virginians; but with a credulous audience it was hard for the Virginian not to romance about his ancestry.

The migratory movement attracted chiefly the dissatisfied and the aggressive. As in modern England, it was the conservative element which remained behind to give its tone to institutions and social life. And it is always the conservative who looks to the past, distrusting innovation, cherishing traditions, and building legends.

The idealization of Virginia is the work of time and the imagination of a people. It is not the creation of the novelist's brain; for the novelist can only use it as it comes to him, giving it literary expression. Bret Harte's romantic pictures of the forty-niners did not appear until the unique

life he described had practically ceased to exist. Harte himself confessed that it was years before that life took on in his imagination the perspective necessary to successful treatment in fiction. Most of Hawthorne's work was done for him before he was born. For over two centuries the New England imagination had been creating a legendary portrait of the Puritans to which he had only to give literary expression. Uncas would have seemed incredible to a generation of New Yorkers who lived in hourly peril of the tomahawk and the scalping knife; but once the Indian was gone, it was easy to idealize him, to remember his virtues and forget his vices. It has been often asserted that America has no legends. As a matter of fact, we have many though none that have been so highly developed as the great literary legends of Europe. The Puritan, the Indian, the frontiersman, and the Virginia planter have all become legendary. Until they did so, they could not be adequately treated in poetry or romantic fiction. At least, so it seemed to our earlier novelists following the Scott tradition. In the case of Virginia, the legend is older and less true to historic fact; but it has undoubtedly greatly helped to make Virginia the most romantic state in the Union. Yet as one studies the history of the state, the reality often appears more interesting and more human than the traditional story; and one wishes that John Esten Cooke and other earlier novelists had been less blind to the picturesqueness of the Virginia of their own time.

THE NOVELISTS OF VIRGINIA LIFE

It has seemed best in this study to group works of fiction according to the historical period with which they deal rather than in the order in which they were written. Since this method presupposes on the part of the reader a knowledge of the groups into which the novelists fall, it has seemed advisable to insert here a brief discussion of the chief novelists of Virginia life and thus to give some account of the development of Virginia fiction.

As we shall see in the following chapter, Virginia plays a minor part in Elizabethan literature.* Drayton and Daniel, among others, sing of the glories of the New World and of their hope of a great English empire in Virginia. Drayton's *Ode to the Virginian Voyage*, which Fiske terms "a poet laureate's farewell blessing," is well known. Daniel saw in Virginia a glorious future for his native tongue:

And who, in time, knows whither we may vent
The treasure of our tongue, to what strange shores
This gain of our best glory shall be sent,
T' enrich unknowing nations with our stores?
What worlds in th' yet unform'd Occident
May come refin'd with th' accents that are ours?

Elizabethan dramatists, however, ridicule the whole colonial enterprise on account of the character of the early emigrants and the methods used to induce them to go to Virginia. In *The City Madam* of Massinger a villain proposes to send his nieces and sister-in-law to Virginia. They protest:

Lady Frugal. How! Virginia!
High Heaven forbid! Remember, sir, I beseech you,
What creatures are shipped thither.

Anne. Condemned wretches,
Forfeited to the law.

Mary. Strumpets and bawds,
For the abomination of their life,
Spewed out of their own country.

Eastward Hoe (1605) by Jonson, Chapman, and Marston, brilliantly satirizes the methods used to foster emigration to the colony.

This unromantic view of Virginia became the traditional one in early English fiction. To the Elizabethan dramatists, Mrs. Aphra Behn, and Defoe Virginia was the haven of the criminal and the indentured servant. The Virginia tradition is the antithesis of all this. Caruthers, Cooke, and Mary Johnston describe the Virginia of the Cavaliers.

In Defoe's *Moll Flanders* and *Colonel Jacque*, both published in 1722, Virginia is represented as the ideal refuge

*See also C. M. Gayley: *Shakespeare and the Founders of Liberty in America*.

for the vagrant, the pauper, and the jailbird. *Colonel Jacque* gives an excellent illustration of the possibility that a criminal might rehabilitate himself in Virginia. In three years Jack has earned his freedom and a plantation of his own. Defoe's knowledge of Virginia geography and the legal status of the indentured servant is surprisingly accurate.

On this side of the Atlantic, Virginia fiction may be said to begin with the English traveler, John Davis, who came to America in 1798 with the intention of exploiting our literary resources. In his *Travels* (1803), he published the first fictitious version of the Pocahontas story, which he twice expanded in later editions. In 1808 James Nelson Barker published *The Indian Princess*, the first American treatment of the story. George Washington Parke Custis's *Pocahontas* (1830), was the first dramatic version to be written by a Virginian. The amazing vitality of the Smith-Pocahontas story is probably due to a certain epic quality combined with the sentimental appeal of a tragic love story.

The first American novelist to introduce Virginian characters in fiction was Fenimore Cooper. Almost half of the leading characters in *The Spy* (1821) are Virginians; and, though none of the scenes are laid on Virginian soil, the novel shows that the Virginia character was early recognized as distinctly different from that of the Northern States. The dashing Captain Jack Lawton is the most lifelike cavalier in Virginia fiction. A

In 1824 appeared the first novels which attempt to picture Virginia life. These are the anonymous *Tales of an American Landlord* and *The Valley of Shenandoah*, by George Tucker. The first is a very dreary religious novel, unimportant except that it betrays the first slight influence of Scott, who seems the godfather of so many later Virginian novelists. *The Valley of Shenandoah*, however, is a realistic story of considerable merit. It might be called the Virginia *Clarissa Harlowe*, and it contains a faithful, though not very readable, portrait of a decaying planter family. It X

abounds in elaborate and accurate pictures of Virginia life on both sides of the Blue Ridge. Had the author been able to incorporate his picture of Virginia life in a better narrative, he might have written a novel of much literary merit.

In 1832 appeared the Virginia classic, *Swallow Barn*, the most accurate account of ante-bellum Virginia life. Kennedy's equipment for writing such a book was ideal, for he had not only an intimate knowledge of Virginia life but also the perspective of the outside world. Though Kennedy shared to a certain extent the Virginian disposition to idealize the past, his literary models fortunately were not Scott but Irving and Addison. Every one who has written about Kennedy has noted the striking resemblance between *Swallow Barn* and *Bracebridge Hall*. The charm of Virginia life for Kennedy consisted in "The mellow, bland and sunny luxuriance of her old-time society—its good fellowship, its hearty and constitutional *companionableness*, the thriftless gayety of the people, their dogged but amiable invincibility of opinion, and that overflowing hospitality which knew no ebb." The chief defect of the story as a picture of Virginia life lies in the fact that, like nearly all other novels, it almost entirely ignores all but the higher social class.

It will be noted that up to this time, and even much later, Virginians were comparatively slow to exploit the literary resources of their state.* Until after the Civil War, if we except the two Tuckers, Caruthers, and Cooke, the more important novels were written by sympathetic outsiders, either Englishmen, like Thackeray and G. P. R. James, or

*There was, however, more literary activity in the South in the early years of the nineteenth century than has been generally recognized. A bibliographical study which the writer made several years ago shows that between 1800 and 1835 there were approximately 1000 publications by Southern authors. Of these, only 217 belong to poetry, drama, and fiction. There were 139 volumes of verse, 29 of them by anonymous authors; 44 works of fiction; and 34 dramatic publications. By far the greater number of authors published only one volume. From 8 to 9 per cent. of these publications were by women writers.

Americans with Virginia connections, like Kennedy and Paulding, who lived in other states. "It is curious to observe," says Woodberry, "that what the South afforded to general literature, in the main, was given into the hands of strangers."

In 1834 Dr. William Alexander Caruthers, the first influential native writer of fiction, published his first novel, *The Kentuckian in New York*. Much more important, however, are his *The Cavaliers of Virginia* (1834-5) and *The Knights of the Horse-Shoe* (1845). Caruthers was a Virginian of the Virginians. Like Cooke, who may be regarded as his successor, he was a disciple of Scott and he tried to do for his native state what Scott had done for English and Scottish history. His are the first important novels of Colonial Virginia. The picture which he gives of Virginia life is much more highly colored than that of his predecessors. Like Cooke, though able to write excellent narrative when he would, he was too fond of the outworn elements of European romance which have little counterpart in Virginia life. Caruthers was less successful than either Cooper or Simms in adapting Scott's character types and plots to his American setting. His Cavalier gentlemen and ladies serve well enough in place of their British prototypes, but it is not easy to see why he should mar his picture of Virginia life with absurd mysteries and melodramatic villains, or distort history as unblushingly as John Smith had done.

The decade (1830-40) in which Caruthers began to write marks an important change in Virginia's attitude toward the past. It was then, as we have pointed out, that she turned her back upon her great Revolutionary statesmen, who had opposed slavery, and began to rebuild an aristocratic social order like that which Jefferson had overthrown. Naturally, the later Virginia planters began to exalt their supposed Cavalier ancestors, and to create an imaginary Colonial Virginia which had little basis in reality. From the time of Caruthers up to the close of the century,

with a few notable exceptions such as Beverley Tucker's *The Partisan Leader* (1836), Virginia novelists were interested in the past rather than in the present.

The Southern Literary Messenger, which was founded in 1834 and which lived on somehow until 1864, gave to Virginia writers an opportunity which they were somewhat slow to take advantage of. Under Poe it became widely known, but he found little support in the writers of his own state. Poe himself, the greatest writer to whom Virginia has a claim, mentions the state of his adoption in only two of his stories, *A Tale of the Ragged Mountains* and *The Premature Burial*. In the former, according to Professor Bliss Perry, Poe borrows from Macaulay his description of the mountains which he had seen every day for a year while a student at the University of Virginia.

Various causes have been assigned for the comparative lack of literary activity in the Old South; among others, the scattered population, the absence of large cities, and the almost universal desire for political distinction. The one basic cause, it seems clear today, was slavery. With all the handicaps usually assigned, but without slavery and the plantation system built upon it, the new Virginia has produced a body of literature which compares favorably with the achievement, in the same period, of any other state in the Union. Virginia hardly had a literature until the rise of the anti-slavery agitators. After 1835 there could be little vital literary expression in the face of a public opinion which began more and more to insist that no one should speak of the fundamental basis of society except in terms of approval. And in Virginia few things, not connected in some way with slavery, were worth writing about. It is significant that the only description of a slave sale in Virginia fiction occurs in *The Valley of Shenandoah*, published in 1824. It is no wonder that Poe created an unmoral world of his own and that Caruthers and Cooke turned to the past

*This point is discussed more fully in my article, *On "Southern Literature," The Texas Review*, October, 1921.

rather than write of the picturesque present which they knew and which Page was to make famous.*

The "wordy, windy, flowery 'eloquence,' romanticism, sentimentality" which Mark Twain found surviving in Southern writers after the Civil War, he attributes to the influence of Scott, whom he also blames, by the way, for the Civil War itself. In Chapter XLVI of his *Life on the Mississippi* he says: "It was Sir Walter that made every gentleman in the South a Major or a Colonel, or a General or a Judge, before the war; and it was he, also, that made these gentlemen value their bogus decorations." In *A Virginian Village* E. S. Nadal, who was born in Virginia, says: "The Southern writers, from being unable to be veracious upon one subject, seemed to lose the power of veracity regarding all subjects. . . . The Southern planter was an English squire. They made him a feeble Sir Roger de Coverley, and his farm or plantation a rather shabby English manor house." "Everything," he continues, "was exaggerated. All their geese became swans They represented everything as different from what it was. They did not seem to be able to describe even natural objects correctly."

In the fifties two English novelists, G. P. R. James and Thackeray, each used Virginia as a background in a novel. Both James and Thackeray pictured Virginia life most sympathetically, but neither fell to any great extent under the influence of the Virginia tradition in fiction, now well established. *The Old Dominion* (1856), written after James had been consul at Norfolk, gives a very readable and accurate picture of Virginia planter life. In the following year Thackeray began the serial publication of *The Virginians* (1857-9). Thackeray saw in the old English simplicity of Virginia life an appropriate foil to the corrupt life of the upper classes in eighteenth century England. Thackeray's novel gave Virginia its place as a favorite setting in American romantic fiction. In 1863 H. T. Tuckerman could write, "Except New England, no portion of our country has been more faithfully illustrated as to its scen-

ery, domestic life, and social traits, by popular literature, than Virginia."

John Esten Cooke*, whose first novel, antedating James and Thackeray, was published in 1854, is the connecting link between the early and the later Virginian novelists, and unquestionably the most influential of them all. "My aim," said Cooke, "has been to paint the Virginia phase of American society, to do for the Old Dominion what Cooper has done for the Indians, Simms for the Revolutionary drama in South Carolina, Irving for the Dutch Knickerbockers, and Hawthorne for the Puritan life of New England." In *The Virginia Comedians* (1854) he wrote not only his best novel but the best novel written by a Virginian before the Civil War. Its setting is one which Cooke has made unmistakably his own, the Virginia of the years immediately preceding the Revolution. To Cooke the Revolution was the great epic event of American history, and the years immediately preceding it were the Golden Age. In his double rôle of romancer and historian, he has done more than any other to popularize the legendary view of Revolutionary Virginia. His intimate knowledge of historical details did not correct his view of colonial life, but only served to make his picture of it seem more real to those who read him. Not only has he impressed his conception of colonial life upon untrained historians like Page and novelists like Mary Johnston and Hallie Ermine Rives; he has even influenced so well trained a historian as John Fiske, who in his *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors* betrays the influence of Cooke's *Virginia: A History of the People* (1883).

The Civil War interrupted Cooke's promising literary career. After its close he made some use of his experiences as a soldier in *Surry of Eagle's-Nest* (1866) and *Mohun* (1869). Although he was the first Virginian to exploit this rich mine of literary material, he was too old-fashioned and himself too much a part of the old régime to make the full-

*An admirable biography of Cooke by Professor John O. Beaty is shortly to be published.

est use of its literary possibilities. Shortly before his death he wrote: "Mr. Howells and the other novelists have crowded me out of popular regard as a novelist, and have brought the kind of fiction I write into general disfavor. I do not complain of that, for they are right. They see, as I do, that fiction should faithfully reflect life, and they obey the law, while I can not. I was born too soon, and am now too old to learn my trade anew." To Cooke at all times the Virginia of romance was not that which he had seen swept away but the Virginia of the Revolution. He continued to write colonial romances with the strange result that when the revival of the historical romance came in the nineties, he was regarded as a pioneer when he had simply never ceased to be a follower of Scott and Simms.

To the Virginia novelist romance has always lain not in the near-at-hand and the contemporary but in the remote past. Just as Cooke and Caruthers glorified the good old colonial times, so Thomas Nelson Page idealized the years in which they lived as a Golden Age. One recalls what Kipling says of romance in *The King*:

Robed, crowned and throned, he wove his spell,
Where heart-blood beat or hearth-smoke curled,
With unconsidered miracle,
Hedged in a backward-gazing world:
Then taught his chosen bard to say:
"Our King was with us—yesterday!"

The Virginia of the old régime found its most memorable portrayal in the early stories of Thomas Nelson Page. It was he who gave the phrase "before the war" the meaning which it has for later Virginians. His *In Ole Virginia* (1887) is preeminently the Virginia classic. Although confessedly owing something to Irwin Russell, and perhaps also to Cable, R. M. Johnston, and Joel Chandler Harris, Page was clearly one of the pioneers in the use of negro dialect in the short story of local color. At the close of the war Page was only twelve years old. He saw the old régime in his most impressionable years; and when he had grown to manhood, his memories of it were so unconsciously ideal-

ized that he cannot see it in any other way even when he assumes the rôle of historian

Page's success was due not to the accuracy with which he portrayed Virginia life but to the fact that, better than any one else, he has expressed the spirit of the old South which survives in the new. The later South wanted its heroes painted, not as provincial tobacco farmers but as heroes and Cavaliers. Page is unquestionably sincere in believing that his picture of the old régime is an accurate one. He has undoubtedly described it as he remembers it; but there is just the difference between his Virginia and the real Virginia that one expects to find between a painting and a photograph. Certain details of the old life are dropped or barely mentioned; while others are emphasized in every possible manner. For instance, the earlier novelists had practically ignored the lower classes; it was left for Page to draw his villains from them. In a review of Page's *The Old Dominion* Professor William E. Dodd has said: "A note which runs through all Mr. Page has ever written is evident here also: the judgment and the language are too frequently those of one who supposes character to be absolutely determined by status. All heroic characters are gentlemen; the villains are outside the charmed circle." Mrs. L. H. (Cora) Harris has expressed much the same view: "The opinion expressed of Thomas Carlyle by one of Page's characters, the 'Old Gentleman of the Black Stock,' is characteristic of the author's own point of view—'He is not a gentleman, sir, and he has never forgiven either the world or himself for it!' No shrewder comment was ever made upon the surly Scotchman, but it also indicates the intolerance and narrowness of an aristocrat's vision. So much of life lies beyond it."

If we remember Page's limitations, we may agree with Professor Edwin Mims in saying that "Hawthorne was not better adapted to the delineation of New England Puritanism, or Scott to the setting forth of the age of chivalry, than was Mr. Page to the description and interpretation

of ante-bellum life." In his first stories Page wrote with perfect naturalness of what he remembered, without resort to the melodramatic machinery of Caruthers, Cooke, and Mary Johnston. Some of those early stories, *Marse Chan*, *Meh Lady*, and *The Burial of the Guns*, are undoubtedly to be counted among the classics of the American short story. Cooke had treated the Civil War as an episode in itself. He was strangely blind to what now seems the obvious fact that the war marked the end of the old régime and the beginning of the new social order. Page was among the first to see that the old life was passing away; and he wisely avoided describing the great battles of the war and instead pictured the changes in the social life which were brought on by war and reconstruction. His *Marse Chan* and *Meh Lady* begin not with the fall of Fort Sumter, but with an idyllic picture of planter life, and they close with a picture of planter poverty and desolation. In his stories the Virginia background is a vital thing.

At the time Page began to write, American writers of fiction were still busy exploring the West for local color. In a short time the center of interest shifted to the South, and Page himself could truthfully say, "After less than a generation it [the old South] has become among friends and enemies the recognized field of romance." In 1888 Tourgée wrote, "A foreigner studying our current literature, without knowledge of our history, and judging our civilization by our fiction, would undoubtedly conclude that the South was the seat of intellectual empire in America, and the African the chief romantic element of our population."

The younger novelists who followed in Page's footsteps knew the old régime only through books or the reminiscences of older people; but Mrs. Burton Harrison and George Cary Eggleston knew it from personal experience. Better than any one else, Mrs. Harrison has described the feminine side of ante-bellum life. She reminds one less of Page than of Kennedy and, in her melodramatic plots, of Caruthers and Cooke. Her English models were Thackeray and Jane Aus-

ten. The boys of *Flower de Hundred* (1890), she says, read Sir Walter from the library edition, and pooh-poohed Miss Austen as rather a dull old thing, who wrote about people you could see by just driving around the country." *Flower de Hundred* is in some ways a poor novel, but it has something of Jane Austen's illuminating humor and of her keen criticism of social peculiarities. *Belhaven Tales* (1892) is a delightful account of old Alexandria somewhat in the vein of *Cranford*. There is no such account of antebellum urban life anywhere; it deserves recognition as the classic complement to *In Ole Virginia*. Two of the short stories in that volume, *Crow's Nest* and *Una and King David*, are among the best short stories of the Civil War.

The earliest, the last, and the most voluminous of the later novelists of the old régime is George Cary Eggleston. A brother of the author of *The Hoosier Schoolmaster*, he was born in Indiana of Virginian parentage. In the late fifties he visited his relatives and settled in Richmond to practice law. When the Civil War broke out, he enlisted in the Confederate army and served until the end. While editor of *Hearth and Home*, he wrote his first novel, *A Man of Honor* (1873), for a journalistic emergency, much as his brother Edward had written *The Hoosier Schoolmaster*. Nearly thirty years later, after a varied career as a journalist, he retired and devoted himself to the writing of novels of Virginia life. His later novels give a much more highly colored picture of the old régime. This is partly due to the influence of Page and to the change in the popular attitude, but perhaps still more to time and the tricks of an old man's memory. One has only to compare his *A Man of Honor* (1873) with his *Dorothy South* (1902) to see how greatly time has colored the picture. In 1910 he wrote that a critic had charged him with creating his delightful picture of Virginia out of his own imagination "for the entertainment of New England readers." Nowhere, however, does Eggleston show any consciousness of a change in attitude. Of the charm which he found in the old Virginia life he wrote

in 1903: "To me it was the complete realization of romance, the actual embodiment of poetry, a dream life of exquisite perfection. It was a hundred years behind the times, but for that very reason it fascinated my mind as nothing else has ever done, before or since. It violated all the maxims of prudence that had lain at the basis of my education, but I was overjoyed to be rid of the allegiance to these. It ran counter to all I had learned of strenuousness, but I was weary of strenuousness."

In structure Eggleston's novels are usually poor. One suspects that his old friend Cooke is partly responsible for certain melodramatic situations and the conventional villain although one cannot blame Cooke for the bad dialogue. No later writer, however, throws so much light upon the peculiar manners and social customs of Old Virginia. His setting is always delightfully done. This will not make his novels live, but it should make them always interesting to the reader who wishes to know what a shrewd and kindly Western critic thought of old Virginia life. More interesting than any of his novels is his charming essay in the *Atlantic Monthly**, *The Old Regime in the Old Dominion*, which Howells had asked him to expand to twice its original length.

In the late eighties and early nineties, owing partly to Cooke's example and partly to the international revival of the historical romance, Colonial and Revolutionary Virginia again attracted the novelist and began to compete with the ante-bellum period in popular interest. Although others like Hallie Ermine Rives and Maud Wilder Goodwin entered this field also, Mary Johnston has made it her own; and though in her later novels she has deserted her first field, she is still popularly remembered as the author of *Prisoners of Hope* and *To Have and to Hold*. Her success induced several Northern and Western novelists, notably Burton Egbert Stevenson and Mary E. Wilkins Freeman, to turn to Colonial Virginia for a romantic background. Her

*Vol. 36, pp. 603-616.

success has perhaps also had much to do with the numerous juvenile novels dealing with Virginia history.

Miss Johnston continues the Caruthers-Cooke tradition. Her plots are quite as sensational as theirs, quite as full of mysteries and melodramatic incidents. All three novelists, in fact, recall the dime-novel again and again. Her background is unreal, and this in spite of her accurate use of many historical details of dress and manners. Her knowledge of history, like Cooke's, serves only to make her unreal world seem plausible to the uncritical reader. Everything is idealized; even the scenery takes on a tropical richness of coloring. Her Virginia is, in Governor Berkeley's language, "the land of good eating, good drinking, stout men, and pretty women." Her Virginia is the Utopia of melodramatic romance. It is essentially inferior to the Arcadian land of Thomas Nelson Page. At the same time one must give Miss Johnston credit for her excellences. Her ability to tell a thrilling story of adventure cannot be denied. Miss Johnston possesses the narrative instinct, as Scott, Cooper, and Stevenson did. Though few of her characters are of real flesh and blood, her types are often well chosen and sometimes strikingly portrayed. More than any other Virginian novelist, she appreciates the value in fiction of Virginian class distinctions. In fact, her plots often turn upon the social barrier between classes. Miss Johnston was the first novelist after Defoe to see the value of the indentured servant as a character in fiction. The hero of her first novel, *Prisoners of Hope* (1898), the best of the three dealing with Colonial Virginia, is a convict who cherishes a hopeless love for Patricia, the daughter of the great landlord who owns him.

At this point we may mention those British authors who since Thackeray's time have written upon Virginian subjects. Arthur Granville Bradley's *Sketches from Old Virginia* (1897) and *Other Days* (1913), though not to be classed as fiction, give a unique picture of Virginia life in the Reconstruction period, sympathetic but markedly at

variance with the picture found in Page's *Red Rock* (1898). Bradley was one of a number of Englishmen who after the Civil War bought Virginia estates and tried to live like English country gentlemen. Few of them succeeded in restoring the worn-out soil to fertility, and Bradley after about ten years left Virginia. A comparison of Bradley's *Marse Dab* with Dr. Cary of *Red Rock* reveals the extent to which Page has idealized the old Virginia gentleman. Even in the twentieth century two British novelists have been attracted to Colonial Virginia. John Masefield's two stories of Virginia and the sea, *Lost Endeavor* (1910) and *Captain Margaret* (1916), faintly recall the Virginia of Defoe. The hero of *Lost Endeavour* is, like Colonel Jack, kidnapped and sold as an indentured servant to Virginia. In both novels Virginia is no more than a half-way station on the route to the Spanish Main. The Virginia background in both novels is extremely hazy and, wherever definitely described, usually inaccurate. For instance, the Virginians, Masefield tells us in *Captain Margaret*, "had no wines They did not play cards. They would often ride forty miles to a prayer meeting in a wood." The Scottish novelist, John Buchan, attracted by the romantic background of Mary Johnston, has written in *Salute to Adventurers* (1917) one of the most readable romances of Colonial Virginia.

About 1900 we note the beginnings of a gradual change in the trend of Virginia fiction so marked as to be described as revolutionary. A literary revolution we may well call it, for it freed the Virginia novelist from the tyrannical spell of a legendary past, and it introduced into Virginia fiction a democratic note which had rarely been found there before. In other words, since 1900 "Southern" literature has for the first time become genuinely American. The twentieth century has witnessed the rise of a number of Virginia novelists, Ellen Glasgow, James Branch Cabell, Henry Sydnor Harrison, and others, who have turned their backs squarely upon the time-hallowed traditions of their section. More significant still is the fact that older writers,

like Thomas Nelson Page and Mary Johnston, have executed what we may call a literary about-face. Page's *John Marvel, Assistant* and Miss Johnston's *Hagar* do not belong to the same world as his earlier *In Ole Virginia* and her *To Have and To Hold*.

This marked change in the character of Virginia fiction, which began in 1897 with Miss Glasgow's first novel, *The Descendant*, was the tardy but inevitable consequence of the profound changes which the Civil War wrought in Virginia life. The years following the war witnessed the gradual disintegration of the old aristocratic order and the rise of the lower classes which slavery had kept in a subordinate position. The new social life of Virginia rests upon exactly the same economic basis as the social life of the North and West; but for a quarter of a century after the war there was a marked discrepancy between the ideal and the actual life of Virginia. The new South was democratic, and it was rapidly becoming industrial; but it still professed undying allegiance to the semi-feudal old South, which it revered without fully understanding. The virtues of the new South were American, Northern rather than Southern. Its progressive farmers and business men were long in realizing that it is altogether impossible to follow the old Southern gentleman's code of living in an alien economic dispensation. The South, in genuinely Quixotic fashion, professed one ideal and followed another. It was probably the war with Spain that caused the South first to suspect that it was worshipping an obsolete ideal. It has been only since that time that speech and press have been sufficiently free to permit Southern writers like Miss Glasgow to attack outworn ideals without the certainty of the social ostracism which befell Mr. Cable in Louisiana.

In choosing as the hero of her first novel an illegitimate poor white who leaves Virginia to escape the odium attached to his birth and class, Miss Glasgow deliberately violated a long literary tradition. She chose to write of the present rather than of the romantic past; and later when she por-

trayed the old Virginia gentleman, she took off his halo and pictured him as a human being. She was the first to see that certain social classes had been almost entirely ignored by her predecessors. She was, in short, the first Virginia novelist to attain a genuinely national outlook upon the life of her state, the first Virginia novelist with a democratic attitude toward life.

The Deliverance (1904), perhaps Miss Glasgow's best novel, deals with the same period as Page's *Red Rock* (1898); but in spite of the fairly close resemblance between the two novels in plot, her book in spirit and purpose differs profoundly from his. Page treats the old planters as heroic martyrs robbed of all they hold dear by rascally carpet-baggers and scalawags. His novel is a special plea, almost a piece of propaganda; and his characters are either melodramatic villains or romantic abstractions. It is not the overseer's theft of the master's plantation that interests Miss Glasgow but the consequences of that act upon the two families. Can any one imagine Page as representing an overseer's granddaughter as a lady who marries a scion of one of the First Families of Virginia?

It was in her third novel, *The Voice of the People* (1900), that Miss Glasgow found herself and gave to Virginia fiction the first important novel of the new type. Earlier novelists had practically ignored the poor whites. She saw that the war had made Virginia society so democratic that even the lowest might hope some day to sit, like Nick Burr, in the governor's chair. Miss Glasgow returned to the theme of *The Voice of the People* in *The Romance of a Plain Man* (1909) and *The Miller of Old Church* (1911). The poor white farmers in *The Miller of Old Church* are better done than those in *The Voice of the People*; but *The Romance of a Plain Man*, a story of big business in Richmond, is the best of the three novels. In this story Ben Starr, the most lifelike of her poor white heroes, marries into the class above him only to find that, though his financial success has admitted him to the best social

circle, there is much which he has still to learn from his wife and her class.

Miss Glasgow's *Virginia* (1913) and *Life and Gabriella* (1916) represent still another type of novel. These two stories and Mary Johnston's *Hagar* (1913) mark an emphatic revolt against the ideals of the ante-bellum Virginia lady. Gabriella and Hagar are Virginian women of the new type; Virginia, who is a failure in the new social order, represents the vanishing type. Miss Johnston's description of the boarding school to which Hagar is sent by her grandparents is a satiric gem: "No one could be so cross-grained as to deny that Eglantine was a sweet place. It lay sweetly on just the right, softly swelling hill. The old grey stucco main house had a sweet porch, with wistaria growing sweetly over it; the long, added grey-stucco wings had pink and white roses growing sweetly on trellises between the windows. . . . It was a sweet place. Every one said so—parents and guardians, the town that neighboured Eglantine, tourists that drove by, visitors to the commencement exercises—everybody! The girls themselves said so. It was praised of all—almost all. The place was sweet. M. Morel, the French teacher, who was always improving his English, and so on the hunt for synonyms, once said in company that it was saccharine." Hagar, however, is "a wilful piece." She becomes an author and a radical with all the new ideas which her grandparents cannot abide. She is, in fact, the very antithesis of the old Virginia lady of *Marse Chan* and *Red Rock*.

Perhaps the most scathing attack on Virginian conservatism and worship of the past has been written by James Branch Cabell in *The Rivet in Grandfather's Neck* (1915). One of his Virginia characters says: "Here, you know, we have the best blood in America, and—for utilitarian purposes—that means the worst blood. Ah, we may prate of our superiority to the rest of the world,—and God knows, we do!—but, at bottom, we are worthless. We are worn out, I tell you! we are effete and stunted in brain and will-power, and the very

desire of life is gone out of us! We are contented simply to exist in Lichfield." "'A hamlet of Hamlets,' was Patricia's verdict as to Lichfield—'whose actual tragedy isn't that their fathers were badly treated, but that they themselves are constitutionally unable to do anything except talk about how badly their fathers were treated.'"

That Thomas Nelson Page should ever write such a novel as *John Marvel, Assistant* (1909) would have been incredible to any one two decades ago; and it shows better than any other novel the extent of the change which has come over Virginia fiction. A reviewer of his *Gordon Keith* (1903) wrote: "The romantic details of plantation monarchies and other features of the old South are no longer interesting material . . . it is time the South buried her dead and dealt more exclusively with her living heroes, lest the world should conclude there are none worthy of her past glories." Mrs. Corra Harris wrote in 1907: "A country or a section may change so suddenly in its character and ambitions that an author who once portrayed the life of it can do so no longer. . . . Now, something has happened in the South during the last ten years so radical and so overwhelming that what was true is now history, what was characteristic has become bombastic, and what were principles of living are mere sentimentalities connected with the *code duello* existence of the past. . . . the South has outgrown Mr. Page."

Page's literary career, however, displays an unexpected determination to keep pace with the progress of American thought and literary endeavor. That he has not been altogether successful is due less to a lack of adaptability on his part than to the amazing rapidity of the changes in Virginian ideals of life and of fiction. In *John Marvel, Assistant*, as in Mary Johnston's *Hagar* and *The Long Roll*, we note the absence of nearly everything which we had come to regard as characteristic of the author. Page, like Miss Johnston, has done with fair success the one thing which no one thought it possible for him to do. Not only are practically all the old character types gone, but the old Virginia class consciousness

is gone, too; and in its place we find the social sympathies of the reformer. In Henry Glave, the hero, Page describes the change through which he himself seems to have gone. Like Gordon Keith, Glave is the son of a gentleman, but he has even at the outset a certain contempt for his father's "inadequacy to the new state of things." Glave's failure in college and in his first business venture is due to the fact that he is so well satisfied with the achievements of his ancestors that he feels no need to add any of his own. He goes West, and after a very hard struggle with poverty, which gives him his new social sympathies, he works his way up. At the close of the story he is a thorough American with almost nothing of the Virginia aristocrat left in his ideals. The secondary heroes are a middle-class minister and a Jewish radical, who expounds a doctrine that seems as unlike the earlier Page as anything imaginable: "There is no established order. It is always upset in time, either for good or ill. It never abides, for change is the law."

One who reads in chronological order the novels by Northern writers who touch the later Virginia will note in them a change almost the very reverse of that which we have just described in the Virginia authors. The earlier Northern writers, like Lydia Wood Baldwin, Frank R. Stockton, and Edmund Pendleton, saw Virginia with their own eyes or through the medium of Northern prejudice; the later Northern writers are, curiously enough, among the last to keep alive the old Virginia tradition. In *Big Tremaine* (1914) Miss Marie Van Vorst describes as contemporary what is really ante-bellum social life. The old planter families are represented as still living on their estates; little is altered except that the negroes are free. Doubtless there are people at the North who imagine that present-day Virginia is the Arcadia that is described in *Big Tremaine*. All the old types are here—the old Virginia gentleman, the old-fashioned lady, the old-school lawyer, the negro mammy. The run of John Taintor Foote's comedy, *Toby's Bow*, at the Comedy Theater during the season of 1918-19—and in the moving picture

theaters since that time—shows that the traditional picture of Virginia still possesses a charm for Northern audiences. Here the sweetness, simplicity, and purity of the traditional Virginia are set over against the vices of New York's Bohemia. A New York novelist, whom dissipation is fast robbing of his literary powers, goes to Virginia and falls in love with a pure and sweet Virginia girl. The heroine, except for her literary aspirations, belongs to the same type as Miss Glasgow's Virginia Pendleton. Here we find again the old "mansion" which has been in the family for two hundred years, the faithful old darky, a type which has been practically extinct, outside of fiction, for a quarter of a century, and the old grandmother who knows nothing of business and has no idea that her estate is about to be sold for debt. She is an anachronism. Though the scene is laid in modern prohibition Virginia, the old lady, like the playwright perhaps, still unaware of this fact, insists that wine be served on the table no matter if all the guests are total abstainers. But Hallie Erminie Rives's *The Valiants of Virginia* (1912) reminds us that a native novelist can also help perpetuate the legend that the old planter life survives unchanged in the country districts of Virginia. As James Branch Cabell has put it, "The vitality of the legend is wonderful."

The history of Virginia fiction, like the history of Virginia life, exhibits at every point the clash of aristocratic or conservative and democratic or radical tendencies. In each case we find at first the aristocratic forces everywhere triumphant, but in the period following the war we see the democratic forces gradually gaining the ascendancy. The spirit of the novelists has been a faithful reflection of the spirit of the social life. It does not follow, however, that the fiction has mirrored faithfully the life of the people. Whether or not we agree with Brander Matthews that the historical novel can never be anything but "an inferior form of art," there is no mistaking the conclusion that it has done much to keep alive certain popular legends that might perhaps better have been left to die. Whether or not Virginia

fiction has been the gainer for the tradition upon which it is built will be decided by each reader according to his predilections in novels. If he be a realist, he will say that Virginia fiction has given us, on the whole, anything but a faithful reflection of Virginia life. If, however, his taste runs to romance, he will contend, as did Simms, that obscurity and the glamor of legend are necessary before a great novel can be made out of the history of any state or country.

Until the beginning of the twentieth century, Virginia felt so strongly her entity as a state—a nation, one might almost say—that it has been possible to study her literature without much attention to the literature of the rest of the country. This will not be true in the future. The time is past when a novelist can write merely for a Virginian or even a Southern audience. The literary future of Virginia is indissolubly bound up with that of the nation. Virginia should be one of the richest fields in American fiction for a long time to come. No state has a richer historical background or greater individual charm. The novelist of the future Virginia will, it seems fair to guess, pay less attention to the past and more to the present. If the heroic and idyllic epochs are forever past, he can still console himself with the Virginia poet, Benjamin Sledd, who sings:

Dear land of many streams and mighty hills,—
And dear wherever glory lives, thy name,
Though latter years may link it with their shame . . .
Why should we weep
O'er glory past? Still stands—shall ever stand—
Unchanged, unchangeable, each mighty steep,
And vale and stream their olden beauty keep—
Sure witnesses from their creator's hand
Of favoring love to thee, my own dear land.

CHAPTER TWO

COLONIAL VIRGINIA

- I. *Virginia in Elizabethan Poetry and Drama*.—Although the number of allusions to Virginia is considerable, in only two or three instances does Virginia play a notable part in any Elizabethan poem or play. Smith's works contain thirty poems from friendly poets, including Wither, Donne, and John Davies of Hereford. Spenser twice refers to Virginia. Daniel and Drayton allude to Virginia most frequently. Virginia plays a part in two masques, the unimportant *Maske of Flowers* and *The Memorable Maske of . . . the Middle Temple and Lyncolns Inne*, written by Chapman and staged by Inigo Jones.

In the regular drama Virginia had a bad reputation. Illustrative quotations from Massinger: *The City Madam* (V, i), Fletcher: *The Noble Gentleman* (V, iii), etc. The brilliant comedy, *Eastward Hoe* (1605); by Chapman, Jonson, and Marston, satirizes the Virginian emigrants, whose character is indicated by the names Flash, Seagull, Spendall, and Scapethrift. Shakespeare's *The Tempest* was partly inspired by the story of the wreck of the *Sea Venture* in the Bermudas while on her way to Virginia.

- II. *Captain John Smith and the Princess Pocahontas*.—There is an epic quality about the story of the founding of Jamestown which helps to explain its wide popularity as a theme among poets, dramatists, and novelists. Like Aeneas, Smith is regarded as the founder of a new nation and the embodiment of Virginian qualities, the ideal Cavalier. Pocahontas's rôle is that of protecting deity to the infant colony. Her supposedly tragic love story adds romantic charm.

Ever since 1859 historians have violently disagreed as

to Smith's reliability as historian of the colony. The weight of authority, however, is now decidedly against Smith. He was a partisan of James I, and treated unfairly the liberal Virginia Company, which gave the colony its right to self-government. The story of the rescue rests solely upon Smith's own testimony and is probably untrue.

The English literary traveler, John Davis, who spent some time in Virginia tutoring the children of wealthy planters, introduced the Smith-Pocahontas story into fiction in 1803. This short story he expanded in 1805 into a novelette and finally in 1806 into a historical romance, *The First Settlers of Virginia*. Davis's first version is his best; the final version is overweighted with historical material, much of which is copied almost verbatim from Robertson and Belknap. The Pocahontas story does not lend itself readily to treatment in the novel or the play. The most dramatic incident, the rescue, comes too early; and Pocahontas marries the unromantic Rolfe while neither she nor Smith dies of a broken heart.

Most of the Pocahontas poems and plays were written before the Civil War; most of the novels, many of them suggested by the Jamestown Tercentennial of 1907, belong to the later period. The chief plays are Barker: *The Indian Princess* (1808), Custis: *Pocahontas* (1830), Robert Dale Owen: *Pocahontas* (1837), Margaret Ullmann: *Pocahontas: a Pageant* (1912), and two burlesques, John Brougham: *Po-ca-hon-tas; or, The Gentle Savage* (1855), and Philip Moeller: *Pokey* (1818). The chief Pocahontas poems are Mary Webster Mosby: *Pocahontas* (1840), William Watson Waldron: *Pocahontas* (1841), Mrs. Lydia H. Sigourney: *Pocahontas* (1841), Seba Smith: *Powhatan* (1841). Briefer poems of better quality are Thackeray's *Pocahontas*, Mrs. Margaret Junkin Preston's *Last Meeting of Pocahontas and the Great Captain*, and Vachel Lindsay's war poem,

Our Mother Pocahontas. The best novels are Cooke: *My Lady Pokahontas* (1885) and Vaughan Kester: *John o' Jamestown* (1907). See bibliography for other titles. No literary treatment of the Pocahontas story betrays the slightest suspicion that Smith's account is open to question. The vitality of the legend is amazing.

III. *The Cavalier and the Indentured Servant*.—The novels which deal with later Colonial Virginia represent two well defined traditions: the English, dealing with the indentured servant, and the Virginian, portraying the Cavalier. The number of Cavaliers who settled in Virginia has been enormously exaggerated. Bruce finds only forty-three families with the right to a coat-of-arms. "The aristocratic character of Virginia society," says Wertenbaker in *Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia*, "was the result of development within the colony. It proceeded from economic, political and social causes. On its economic side it was built up by the system of large plantations, by the necessity for indentured or slave labor, by the direct trade with England; politically it was engendered by the lack of a vigorous middle class in the first half of the 17th century, and was sustained by the method of appointment to office; on its social side it was fostered by the increasing wealth of the planters and by the ideal of the English gentleman." Quotations from historians arranged chronologically show a steady growth in the number of Cavaliers estimated to have settled in Virginia while the number of indentured servants proportionately declines.

IV. *The English Tradition: Mrs. Behn and Defoe*.—Mrs. Behn's play, *The Widow Ranter*, acted in 1690, is a curious mixture of comedy, tragedy, and romance, containing much satire on colonial self-government. Its historical hero, Nathaniel Bacon, is in love with the Indian queen, Semernia.

Defoe's favorite solution of the pauper and criminal

problem was colonization, but the story of *Moll Flanders* (1722) gives a poor illustration of his scheme. In *Colonel Jacque*, published later in the same year, Defoe, choosing a man as his leading character, shows more successfully how a convict could rehabilitate himself in Virginia. Defoe also pleads for a humaner treatment of negro slaves. His novels give us our best account of the white slaves of Virginia.

- V. *The Virginian Tradition: Caruthers and Mary Johnston*.—Caruthers, author of *The Cavaliers of Virginia* (1834-5), and Mary Johnston have written the most important and influential novels dealing with Colonial Virginia. Discussion of Caruthers's novels. Miss Johnston continues the Caruthers-Cooke tradition and re-introduces the indentured servant into fiction. Discussion of *Prisoners of Hope* (1898).
- VI. *Other Novelists of Colonial Virginia*.—Bacon's Rebellion the subject of a number of novels. Historical events which play no part in fiction. Prévost: *Le Philosophe Anglais* (1728-39). Mary Wilkins Freeman: *The Heart's Highway* (1900). John Masefield: *Lost Endeavour* (1910) and *Captain Margaret* (1916). John Buchan: *Salute to Adventurers* (1917).

CHAPTER THREE

THE REVOLUTION

- I. *Introduction.* — "The Revolution furnished the epic of American history," says Professor Shotwell. Historians and other writers have greatly idealized the struggle for independence. This, according to Sydney George Fisher, explains the poor quality of the fiction dealing with the Revolution. There is no inspiration in "a scholastic, academic revolution that never happened and that is barren of all traits of human nature."
- II. *George Washington.*—No American has been more the victim of legend and misunderstanding than Washington. It seems, however, that other biographies than that of Weems are responsible for the priggish perfection that represents Washington in fiction. In *The Virginians* Thackeray apparently did his best to discover the true George Washington, with sufficient success to offend Americans of his time. Other novels in which Washington plays a part are of no great importance.
- III. *Other Historical Characters.*—Nearly every prominent Virginian of Revolutionary times is the subject of legend and misconception. The novelists always preserve such traditions, seldom using the best historical sources available. Lord Fairfax's intimacy with Washington has been greatly exaggerated. Wirt's life of Patrick Henry launched the legend of a great idle, ignorant genius and has influenced all fictitious portraits of Henry, including that of Cooke in *The Virginia Comedians*. Jeffersonian "simplicity." The Indian chief Logan. Governor Dunmore.
- IV. *Mistaken Notions of Virginia Life.*—Colonial social strata were many and not so fixed as is generally supposed. The frontier democracy, from which Henry

sprang, has been greatly neglected in history and fiction. The Scotch-Irish and German settlers of the Valley of Virginia.

- V. *The Planter Aristocracy*.—All other classes have been overshadowed by the planters. They entered the war unwillingly and did not supply the great leaders. Women. Other classes.
- VI. *Cooper: "The Spy."*—Cooper's conception of the Virginia character. Captain Jack Lawton.
- VII. *John Esten Cooke*.—Cooke's life and conception of fiction. Cooke's historical portrait of Virginia is as charming and as erroneous as that of his novels. Discussion of *The Virginia Comedians*.
- VIII. *Thackeray: "The Virginians."*—It has been erroneously assumed that Thackeray knew little or nothing about Virginia and that his novel has very little to do with Virginia. Genesis of the novel. Thackeray's impressions of Virginia were very favorable. He received some assistance from John R. Thompson, Kennedy, and William Bradford Reed. Cooke's interview with Thackeray (*Appleton's Journal*, n. s., 7:248-254). Did Kennedy write any of *The Virginians*? Almost certainly not, although Thackeray clearly asked him to do so. John H. B. Latrobe is responsible for the legend that Kennedy wrote the fourth chapter of the second volume. From Graydon's *Memoirs*, which Kennedy lent him, Thackeray got the story of Maria's marriage to Hagan. Thackeray's account of the Lamberts also owes something to Reed's *Life of Esther De Berdt*. Mrs. Burton Harrison believes (see *The Bookman*, 1:166) that from Reed Thackeray learned many details of the relations of aristocratic Virginia families, like the Fairfaxes and Carys, to their English cousins. Thackeray's library contained a number of books dealing with Virginia and the Revolution.

The Virginians is a poorly constructed novel. Thack-

eray was interested in Colonial Virginia as a part of Virginia life as a foil to the corrupt life of the English eighteenth century England, which he loved. He uses nobility. Harry Warrington is Virginian to the core. The first volume gives this young Virginian's reaction to English society life. Thackeray's picture of life in Virginia is sketchy but surprisingly accurate. He did not fall under the influence of the Virginian tradition to any great extent. The direct influence of the novel has been small, but it did more than any other book to give Virginia its place as a classic background in American fiction.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE OLD RÉGIME

- I. *Historical Introduction.*—While the Revolution made Virginia more democratic, it ruined most of the planters, whose divided estates fell into the hands of men of lower standing. A stream of emigration to the West set in which has hardly yet ceased. The Virginian emigrant as pictured in fiction. In the thirties slavery, which had seemed to be dying out, again became profitable. Slaves were sold to the lower South at the rate of 6,000 a year. The Southern reaction against democracy was due to the growth of the lower South, not to the influence of Scott, as has often been said. Rebuilding of the aristocratic social order.
- II. *The Novelists.*—See Chapter One for a brief account of Kennedy, G. P. R. James, George Cary Eggeston, Mrs. Burton Harrison, and Thomas Nelson Page.
- III. *Mistaken Notions of Virginia Life.*—Miscónceptions of life in ante-bellum Virginia are due partly to the Abolitionists, partly to post-bellum Virginia idealization of the old régime by Virginians. The Virginians were not dissipated or irreligious. The charm of Virginia life lay in its simplicity, kindness, hospitality, and freedom from convention. Virginian conservatism and hatred of *isms* of all kinds.
- IV. *Virginia and New England.*—The provincial Virginian and the provincial New Englander cherished many false notions of each other. New England peddlers and overseers. The few intelligent Virginians, like William Wirt and Lucian Minor, who visited New England were amazed to find that Yankees could be kind and hospitable. William Ellery Channing and Bronson Alcott were delighted with the Virginia character and mode of living.

- V. *The Old Virginia Gentleman*.—The Virginia gentleman was the inevitable product of the tobacco plantation system based upon slavery. This explains his ability to lead, his hospitality, generosity, and provincialism. Planter types in fiction. The planter's sons. Odd types.
- VI. *The Virginia Lady*.—Virginia women were not modern, not intellectual, but conservative, and thoroughly feminine. The belle was an institution. Chivalric regard for women. The matron, the keystone of the whole economic system, was badly overworked. The "unattached female" was extremely conservative. Eggleston's old maids.
- VII. *The Slave*.—In Virginia slavery was attended with fewer abuses than in the Gulf states; it was a genuinely patriarchal institution. The Abolitionist legend of slavery. The idealized portrait of Page. Social distinctions among slaves were very marked. Slave types in fiction. The literary use of negro dialect.
- VIII. *The Lower Classes*.—The middle-class farmers outnumbered the planters twenty or thirty to one. Their character. The poor whites. The Hoosier is a poor white type. The overseer. The part of all these types in fiction is very small.
- IX. *Western Virginia*.—Apart from a few pages in Beverley Tucker's *The Partisan Leader*, only Eggleston's novels deal with the Virginia mountaineer. *Irene of the Mountains* (1909) and *Westover of Wanalah* (1910).

CHAPTER FIVE

THE CIVIL WAR

- I. *Historical Introduction*.—There has been some misconception as to Virginia's part in the Civil War. Virginia was very reluctant to secede, and yet her soil was the chief battle-ground; in this she resembles Belgium. Virginians fought more wholeheartedly than in the Revolution. In Virginia the war is still a reality, not a mere matter of history. Post-bellum idealization of the four epic years. Until after 1900 no one was permitted to tell the whole truth about the causes of the war.
- II. *The Virginia Generals*.—Virginia furnished half the great military leaders of the Confederacy: the Lees, Jackson, Joseph E. Johnston, "Jeb" Stuart, A. P. Hill, Ewell, Pickett, and Ashby,—not to mention Scott and Thomas on the Union side. Lee and Jackson were the chief Southern heroes. Jackson was not typically Virginian; he was too much the Puritan and too little the Cavalier. Lee much more completely embodied the Southern ideal. He was, however, rather what the Virginian admired than what he was. To a certain extent, Lee has been idealized, like Washington, into a priggish abstraction. Lee and Jackson as portrayed in Cooke's novels. Turner Ashby, "the Knight of the Valley," and "Jeb" Stuart best represent the romantic Cavalier type. Portraits of Ashby and Stuart in Cooke's *Surry of Eagle's Nest* and Eggleston's *The Master of Warlock*.
- III. *The Novelists*.—Even more than the Revolution, the Civil War has furnished the epic of American history—at least for Virginia. Whitman wrote: "A great literature will yet arise out of the era of those four years. . . . far more grand, in my opinion, to the hands capable of it than Homer's siege of Troy, or the French wars to Shakespeare." Great variety of the war novels.

Few stand out, although the average of excellence is high. Two novels which predict a civil war: Beverley Tucker: *The Partisan Leader* (1836) and John Beauchamp Jones: *Wild Southern Scenes* (1859). Cooke's war novels are disappointing; his battle scenes and historical portraits are excellent, but Cooke's type of fiction was too archaic to mirror the wartime life as a whole. Cooke, however, was the first to use many situations, such as the family divided by the war and the Northern soldier in love with the Virginia girl, which later novelists employ. While Cooke treated the war as an episode complete in itself, Page was the first to place his war scenes against a background of idyllic planter life before the war and a background of planter poverty and desolation following the war. Page pays more attention to home life and less to battles than Cooke. Excellence of the short stories in his *In Old Virginia* (1887). Mrs. Burton Harrison's *Crow's Nest* and *Una and King David* are two of the best short stories of the Civil War. Of the many novels by Northern writers which describe the war in Virginia the best is Albert Elmer Hancock's *Henry Bourland* (1901). After 1900 Virginian novelists begin to break with the romantic tradition and to describe the war as it actually happened. Ellen Glasgow's *The Battle Ground* (1902) and Lucy Meacham Thurstons's *Called to the Field* (1906) foreshadow *The Long Roll* (1911) and *Cease Firing* (1912) of Mary Johnston, who has most successfully described the war. Whitman had said, "The real war will never get in the books;" but she has very nearly succeeded. Forgotten details of the Civil War in the light of the War with Germany: hysteria, spies, "slackers," profiteers, intolerance, hatred, "strategic retreats," etc.

- IV. *Wartime Life in Virginia*.—The Virginia planters made excellent cavalymen. The proportion of gentlemen among the soldiers has been much exaggerated. The part of the women is not adequately depicted by the

novelists. The slaves. The poor whites are best described in Miss Glasgow's *The Battle Ground* and Page's *Little Darby*.

CHAPTER SIX

MODERN VIRGINIA

- I. *Decay of the Planter Families.*—Unprecedented waste and desolation were the aftermath of the war in Virginia. The planters were unable to adjust themselves to new methods of farming necessitated by emancipation. Their failure was seldom due to the rascality of overseers, as Page's novels suggest. Bradley's *Sketches From Old Virginia* (1897) gives a more accurate picture of the planters than Page's *Red Rock* (1898). Marse Dab and Dr. Cary. Many estates and homes abandoned to decay. Thomas Dabney as a type of the Virginian planter. Modern Virginian conservatism is due to emigration of the enterprising element and also perhaps in part to the effect of the war upon the racial stock.
- II. *The Reconstruction.*—The Reconstruction period in Virginia was attended by few abuses like those in Louisiana and South Carolina, but Page and other novelists make no distinction between Virginia and these states. The carpet-bagger and the scalawag, however, left Virginia politics in a very corrupt condition.
- III. *The Rise of the Lower Classes.*—While practically all the great planters failed, the small farmers managed to hold their own. Practically all the planters went West or North or to Virginia cities. Rural Virginia is as democratic as the rural West. Virginia social life has undergone a revolution since the war, and it now rests on the same economic basis as life in other states. Wealth is now more important than birth.
- IV. *A Literary Revolution.*—(See Chapter One.) Under the old régime Virginia left her books to be written by outsiders; since the war native Virginians have written nearly all the novels describing Virginia. Emancipation

rendered speech and press comparatively free. Great variety of the novels; every possible type represented. About 1900 a marked change in the tone of the novelists begins. Page tries to keep pace with the change. In *Red Rock* (1898) and *Gordon Keith* (1903) he turns from earlier periods to Reconstruction Virginia, and in *John Marvel, Assistant* (1909) to contemporary life, abandoning his stock characters and situations entirely. Ellen Glasgow as an example of the new type of fiction. Discussion of her novels. Mary Johnston's *Hagar* (1913). James Branch Cabell's *The Rivet in Grandfather's Neck* (1915).

V. *Northern Novelists*.—The Northern novelists, at first hostile, become the preservers of the Virginia tradition.

VI. *Virginia and New York*.—The modern novelists are unable to keep away from New York, no matter where they start. Few effective contrasts in fiction of New York and Virginia except in F. Hopkinson Smith's *Colonel Carter of Cartersville* (1891) and *Colonel Carter's Christmas* (1903). Colonel Carter is an anachronism, the old Virginia gentleman unchanged by war and Reconstruction, a caricature, like a character out of Dickens.

VII. *Conclusion*.—The novelists do not successfully portray the new type of negro. John Fox and the Virginia and Kentucky mountaineers. Joseph Hergesheimer's *Mountain Blood* (1915). (See conclusion to Chapter One.)

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THE END

VITA

Jay Broadus Hubbell was born May 8, 1885, in Smythe County, Virginia. He attended Windsor Academy during the session of 1901-02. He spent the next three years at the University of Richmond (then Richmond College), and took his B. A. degree in 1905. While there, he took courses in English under Professors J. A. C. Chandler and F. C. Woodward. In 1905-06 he was Instructor in Latin and Greek in Bethel College, Russellville, Kentucky. The next two years he spent in graduate work in Harvard University. He took his A. M. degree there in 1908. At Harvard he took courses under Professors Kittredge, Baker, Neilson, Perry, Robinson, Schofield, Von Jageman, Briggs, and Sheldon. In 1908-09 he was Instructor in English in the University of North Carolina. The sessions of 1909-10 and 1914-15, the fall of 1910, and the spring and summer of 1919 he spent in graduate study at Columbia University. While there, he took work with Professors Thorndike, Trent, Matthews, Erskine, Krapp, Fletcher, Ayres, and Jespersen. During the spring of 1911 he was head of the Department of English and Public Speaking in the Columbus, Georgia, High School. From 1911 to 1914 he was Associate Professor of English at Wake Forest College. He came to Southern Methodist University in the fall of 1915; and, with the exception of a year and a half spent in military service and graduate work in Columbia University, he has been teaching there continuously ever since. He is now acting head of the Department of English. He is joint-author, with his colleague, Professor John O. Beaty, of *An Introduction to Poetry* (Macmillan).

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